

Corruption Levels and Their Impact on the Forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings and Their Consequences (2011 to 2017)

Dr.khaled Mufadi Aldabbas^{*}

Dr. Khalid Issa Aledwan^{*}

^{*} Associate Professor, Department of Political Science - Yarmouk University.

^{*} Associate Professor, Department of Political Science - Yarmouk University.

مستويات الفساد وتأثيرها في أشكال الثورات العربية لعام 2011 والنتائج المترتبة عليها (2017-2011)

ملخص

تستهدف هذه الدراسة اكتشاف مدى تأثير مستويات الفساد في تشكيل الثورات العربية لعام 2011 في كل من (تونس، ومصر، وسوريا، وليبيا، واليمن، والاردن، والمغرب). فقد حاولت هذه الدراسة الاجابة عن السؤال المحوري التالي: الى اي مدى اسهمت مستويات الفساد في توجيه احداث الثورات العربية في دول الدراسة اما نحو الاصلاح، أو الثورة او الدخول في حرب أهلية؟ اعتمدت الدراسة على حساب مؤشرات مدركات الفساد، ومؤشرات الدولة الهشة المنشورة من قبل المنظمات الدولية. وقد تم استخدام المناهج العلمية التالية: الوصفي التحليلي، والاحصائي، والمقارن. وقد قسمت الدراسة الى فترتين زمنيتين، الفترة الاولى وتمتد من (2005-2011)، اما الفترة الثانية فتتمتد من (2011-2017). وقد توصلت الدراسة الى مجموعة من النتائج ابرزها: أن هنالك علاقة ارتباط قوي بين ارتفاع مؤشرات الفساد وبين اتجاه الدولة اما نحو الاصلاح، او قيام الثورة، او الدخول في حرب أهلية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مستويات الفساد - الثورات العربية لعام 2011 - الدولة الهشة - الشفافية.

Abstract

This study aims at exploring the impact of corruption levels on the forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan, and Morocco. The study also aims at answering the following central question: Have the corruption levels played a major role in forming the 2011 Arab Uprisings toward reform, violence, or civil war. Analytical descriptive, statistical, and comparative methods were used in this research. This study is divided into two periods: The first period extends from 2005 until 2011 and the second one from 2011 to 2017. The results of this study show that there is a strong correlation between the corruption levels based on *CPI and FSI* in forming of the 2011 Arab Uprisings. The Uprisings turned into civil wars inside the countries that have experienced high level of corruption, such as Yemen, Syria and Libya.

Keywords: Corruption levels, The 2011 Arab Uprisings, Fragile States, transparency.

Corruption Levels and Their Impact on the Forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings and Their Consequences (2011 to 2017)

I- Introduction

In December 2010, the Arab Uprisings started in Tunisia after a young man set himself on fire, sparking a series of unexpected demonstrations. The success of the protests led to a wave of unrest, which spread to Jordan, Morocco, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, and Libya.

The outcomes of the mass demonstrations varied. While some demonstrations led to a democratic transition, others led the governments to brutally suppress the demonstrators or even to dismantle the state.

Much is known about the 2011 Arab Uprisings. Their tragic preconditions such as corruption, unjust political and economic system, and the lack of political freedoms and public accountability. This study encompasses two time periods. The first time period extends from 2005, when the first report of Failed States Index (FSI) was launched, to 2011. The purpose of choosing this time period is to examine the corruption level that preceded the 2011 Arab Uprisings. The second time period, from 2011 to 2017 was particularly chosen to measure the degree of corruption improvement after the outbreak of the Arab Uprisings. The report of 2018 was not included because it had not been released by CPI when this research began.

II-Study Questions

This study attempts to address the following main question:

Are there any significant correlation between corruption levels and the forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings (violent Uprisings, peaceful protests, overthrowing the regimes, and civil war), based on the Corruption Perceptions Index: CPI, and Fragile States Index: FSI.

Four sub-questions will be provided to answer the main question, as following:

- 1- What is the role of corruption levels in forming the 2011 Arab Uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan and morocco?
- 2- What are the ranks of Arab countries, according to the *Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)*, and *FSI Fragile States Index (FSI)*?
- 3- Have " the 2011 Arab Uprisings" contributed to exacerbating or lessening the levels of corruption in the Arab countries according to indicators published by International Institutions?
- 4- How reliable are the "Corruption Perception index" and "Fragile States Index" in predicting the future of stability in the study countries?

III- The Purpose and Significance of the study:

This study aims at identifying the impact of corruption levels on the Forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan and morocco. It is based on quantitative indicators published by International Institutions (*The Corruption Perceptions Index: CPI, and Fragile States Index :FSI*) which include questions related to the bribery of public officials, kickbacks in public procurement, embezzlement of public funds, and the effectiveness of public anti-corruption efforts.

This study is significant because it provides a new insight into the consequences of corruption. The significance of this study also originates from the investigated issue itself, whereby the corruption has become one of the most prominent problems that face several countries worldwide.

Corruption is believed to have detrimental impact on economic development and social welfare.

IV-Research Hypothesis

The study assumes that there is a positive correlation between corruption levels and the forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings, based on the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), and Fragile States Index (FSI). While some Arab countries have witnessed mass peaceful demonstrations calling only for the reform of the regimes, as in Jordan and Morocco, other countries such as Syria, Yemen, and Libya witnessed bloody protests demanding regime change or overthrowing. In Egypt and Tunisia, the situation was relatively stable

It is worth mentioning that there are several variables that might have played a role in the forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings, such as, conflicting interests of international and regional powers in the region and their interference in the 2011 Arab Uprisings to serve their interests. However, this study attempts to focus just on the relationship between corruption levels based on the *Corruption Perceptions Index: CPI*, and *Fragile States Index: FSI* and their role in forming the 2011 Arab Uprisings.

V-Study methodology

To achieve the objective of this study, analytical descriptive, statistical, and comparative methods were employed. The analytical descriptive method was used to show the extent to which corruption has influenced the direction of the 2011 Arab Uprisings. The analytical descriptive method was employed in the first part of the study. It was used to describe and analyze the important factors that are responsible for the growing concerns about corruption worldwide now, and the causes and

consequences of corruption in recent decades. It was used also in the second part of the study to give a general show about the political, economic, and social challenges faced by the Arab countries. The statistical method was used; in the third part of the study. The Arab countries were ranked according to their perceived levels of public sector corruption, according to the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), and FSI Fragile States Index (FSI). The averages were calculated for every country. The comparative method illustrated the averages of corruption levels in the 2011 Arab Uprisings countries before Arab Uprisings and aftermath.

VI- Study Concepts

-Corruption: Theoretically, this conception refers to the Abuse of public power for private benefit, and dishonest or illegal behavior especially by powerful people, such as government officials. According to Transparency International, corruption can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs. The most dangerous corruption that consists of acts committed at a high level of government that deform the central functioning of the state, enabling leaders to benefit at the expense of the public interest.

Procedural definition: The corruption is considered multifaceted concept as there are different societies and economic and political systems, embracing from the broad concept of corruption to the narrow legal concept of bribery. In this paper, the following procedural definition will be adopted: The use of public office in the Arab countries for private gain, which includes the manipulation of policies, institutions, and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political

decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status, and wealth.

-The 2011 Arab Uprisings: These uprisings represent a revolutionary wave of protests that swept the Arab countries, and sparked in Tunisia on December 2010. Within a year these Uprisings left major changes: The downfall of regimes in Egypt Tunisia, Libya and civil Uprisings in Syria, Yemen, and major protests in Jordan, Morocco, Bahrain, and minor protests in other Arab countries such as Kuwait, and Oman.

Procedurally, the 2011 Arab Uprisings refers to the events that sparked on December 17, 2010, in Tunisia. The success of the protests led to a wave of unrest, which spreads Jordan, Morocco, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, and Libya.

-The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI): It is an index published annually by Transparency International since 1995 which ranks more than 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption according to experts and businesspeople.

-The Fragile States Index (FSI): It is an annual report (Formerly the Failed States Index) published by The Fund For Peace since 2005. This index is an annual ranking of 178 countries based on their levels of stability and the pressures they face.

VII-Literature Review

Most of the related studies focused either on the causes and consequences of the events of the 2011 Arab Uprisings, or on the levels of corruption in the Arab countries in a general manner, without mentioning a specific figures to correlate between the levels of corruption and their impact on the Arab uprisings.

- 1- Ghoneim, A., & Asmaa, M. (2016). Growth and corruption in Arab countries: What type of relationship connects them? This study tried to investigate the relationship between corruption and the economic growth in the Arab countries. According to this study, it is necessary to fight corruption and to improve the governance quality in order to achieve a better growth performance. The positive impact of reducing corruption on economic growth, depends on a number of factors (variables), such as institutional reforms, ensuring the accountability, preventing conflict of interest, and enhancing the role of civil society. The study's empirical analysis has shown that the relationship between corruption and economic growth is not linear .
- 2- Mnawar, A. (2015). Corruption and the “Arab spring”: As one of the main elements leading to revolutions. According to this article, corruption in the Arab world in general and in the “Arab spring” countries in particular is considered one of the most important hidden elements that led to the uprisings. It concluded that although the “Arab spring” countries have a large arsenal of laws, there are many gaps that did not make the legislative framework sufficiently active in the fight against corruption.
- 3- Jamal, A., & Robbins, M. (2015). Social Justice and the Arab Uprisings. This study tried to investigate whether the protests of the Arab Uprisings were also fueled by citizens' frustrations with endemic corruption that plagued their societies. The study points out that the vast majority of the citizens in the region believe that corruption remains widespread. Nearly all Lebanese (96%) hold this view, (89%) in Egypt, (84%) in Yemen, (83%) in Jordan and (82%) in Morocco.

- 4- Chalcraft, J. (2015). The Arab uprisings of 2011 in historical perspective. This study aims to discuss the Arab uprisings of 2011 in historical perspective, addressing questions of change and continuity by comparing and contrasting these uprisings with previous cases. This study has argued that the mass uprisings had their surprising and creative dimensions: They emerged without any preceding state breakdown, and they constituted the people as a sovereign, rights-bearing, and diverse subject in a way distinctive from anticolonial nationalism.
- 5- Blitz, D. (2014). The Arab Spring: A parsimonious explanation of recent contentious politics. This study tried to explore the features of society that can explain the large-scale protests in the Arab Spring. The conjunctions of four variables were used: oil production, high unemployment, absence of press freedom, and no recent and severe political violence. The study concluded that the case study of Egypt provides understanding of how these four variables could explain the occurrence of protests, and the case study of Oman shows how oil income made it the exception to this regularity.
- 6- Touati, K. (2014). Determinants of Economic Corruption in the Arab Countries: Dangers and Remedies. This study aimed at highlighting the corruption-related issues in terms of its definitions and different perceptions with respect to some economic theories, while stressing the specific factors lying behind the spread of such practice in the Arab world. Also, this paper concluded that there does really exist a statically-significant relationship between the riser development size in corruption measured by the corruption perception index as a dependent variable, and the human

development index, press freedom index and inflation rate as independent variables.

- 7- Abdulsattar, T. (2015). Acritical analysis of the Arab Spring: Case studies of Tunisia and Egypt. The study concluded: the events of 2010-2011 - over the long term- marked a fundamental turning point setting the region on course for the ultimate realization of eventual democracy.
- 8- Alissa, S.(2008). Arab States: Corruption and Reform: This study tried to answer the main question: Are economic and political reforms an effective way to combat corruption or do changes such as privatizing state industries actually increase opportunities for corruption? The study concluded that the causes of corruption vary across Arab countries, but are often linked in one way or another to state intervention and the structure of economies and public sectors.

The literature of this study leans towards the idea that corruption has a negative impact on the growth and development in the Arab countries. But However, there were no scientific attempts to study the impact of corruption level on forming the 2011 Arab Uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan and morocco, based on *The Corruption Perceptions Index: CPI, and Fragile States Index: FSI*. This study is a specific attempt to explore the correlation between corruption level and the forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings based on international figures.

Part .1: Corruption: Conceptual Framework

Corruption can be defined in many ways, according to the scholar perspective. It is defined as the use of public office for private gain, or the use of official position, rank or status by an office bearer for his own personal benefit. The examples of corrupted behavior would include: bribery, extortion, fraud, facilitation payment, embezzlement, and influence peddling, collusion, patronage, clientelism and nepotism (Ackerman, 1997, & DID, 2015). The most popular and simplest definition of corruption is abuse of public power for private benefit, according to the World Bank (Tanzi, 1998, 8).

There are several important factors that are responsible for the growing concerns about corruption worldwide now, including:

- 1- The corruption is universal. It exists in all countries, both developed and developing, in the public and private sectors, as well as in non-profit and charitable organizations.
- 2- Nowadays, the charges of corruption are playing a major role in politics than at any other time.
- 3- The corruption can be a major obstacle in the process of economic development and in modernizing a country (Ackerman, 1997).

There has been a wave of scientific studies on the causes and consequences of corruption in recent decades. According to Dimant and Tosato, there are twenty two causes of corruption, include: bureaucracy and inefficient administrative and political structure, the absence of civil participation, and press freedom, low levels of economic freedom, the absence of economic growth, the increasing of ethnic division and favoritism, gender (many empirical studies show how parliaments with a

greater representation of women tend to be less corrupted), the lower levels of globalization lead to increased levels of corruption, the size of the government, the centralization of the government, the degree of democracy, the historical drivers, the legal system, market and political competition, having a high concentration of natural resources, the political instability, poverty, property right, religion, trade (Openness), transparency, urbanization, and wages (Dimant, & Tosato, 2017).

The forms of corruption vary among countries and societies. It includes bribery, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, parochialism, patronage, influence peddling, graft, and embezzlement. It can be rare, widespread or systemic. The worst scenario is when it becomes systemic, taking hold of a country, the institutions, rules and peoples' behavior, and becomes as a way of life. Systemic corruption is very difficult to overcome, and it can have a detrimental effect on the economy (Ackerman, 1997) and the social welfare (Dong, 2011, 7).

The levels of corruption can be categorized into three main levels: The political corruption, the economic corruption, and the public administration. The political corruption is considered a systematic corruption and a major obstacle to democracy and the rule of law. Offices and institutions lose their legitimacy when they're misused for private advantage. It is extremely challenging to develop accountable political leadership in a corrupt climate. Corrupt leaders invest scarce public resources in projects that will line their pockets rather than benefit communities (transparency.org, 2018). The political indicators of corruption also include the crackdown on political dissent, free speech, independent media, and civil society organizations by dictatorship regimes.

Part. 2: The 2011 Arab Uprisings: The beginnings

On December 17, 2010, the Arab uprisings started in Tunisia, when a young man Mohamed Bouazizi burned himself. This event sparked a series of unprecedented demonstrations in Tunisia. The success of the protests led to a wave of unrest, which spread, Jordan, Morocco, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, and Libya. (Rosiny, 2012)

The 2011 Arab Uprisings were described as spontaneous because of many socio-economic and political problems. The demonstrations started without political leadership, religious motivation, or ideology. The demonstrations were directed against their own governments and not against external powers. The 2011 Arab uprisings caused mass protesters and two Presidents were overthrown: Zine el-Adin Ben Ali of Tunis on 14 January 2011 and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt on February 11, 2011. These developments were not expected in the Arab world which has been ruled by authoritarian regimes for decades. In two cases, Muslim Brotherhood was gained power and formed governments in Egypt and Tunisia. (Alsoudi, 2014)

The obvious decline in socio-economic conditions observed in the Uprisings Arab countries during the last decade. It was in fact accompanied by an increase in authoritarianism, repression and the limiting of basic freedoms. This, in turn, led to unprecedented growth in popular grievances (Paciello, 2011)

Most of Arab countries suffer from massive legitimacy deficits, and many socio-economic and political problems (Rosiny, 2012). The massive corruption is located in the political-economic sectors. This type of corruption takes place during multi-million-dollar contract negotiations between state officials and business leaders to secure business deals, and the political corruption based on the use of economic deals and benefits to

reward political allies, which leads the public resources to unproductive activities (Alissa,2008). The totalitarian nature of the Arab regimes also profoundly influenced the socio-economic developments by inhibiting the capacity of these economies to deliver a well-balanced and inclusive development. Reforms meant to liberalize the economy thus became the main tool used by the regimes to consolidate their authority and control over the country (Paciello, 2011).

Many Arab countries began to adopt a new measure to control the protests including, partially meeting demonstrators' demands, replacing unpopular governments, or by issuing new laws, constitutional reforms, conducting or promising political and economic reforms. For instance, the response of Jordan was a combination of security and economic measures to calm their protesters (Alsoudi, 2014).

Part.3: Corruption Levels in the Arab States according to *CPI*, and *FSI*

1- The Corruption Perceptions Index(CPI)

The study -in this part- will be based on *the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)* that published by *Transparency International (TI)*. The index, which ranks more than 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption according to experts and businesspeople, uses a scale of (0 – 10/0-100), where 0 is highly corrupt and 10 is very clean (CPI, 2017). This index draws on assessments and opinion surveys carried out by independent and reputable institutions. They include questions related to the bribery of public officials, kickbacks in public procurement embezzlement of public funds, and the effectiveness of public sector anti-corruption efforts. The Corruption Perception indexes results focus on the inequality that create a vicious

circle between corruption, unequal distribution of power in society, and unequal distribution of wealth. According to CPI the corruption can be defined as "the abuse of public power for private gain and can be classified as grand, petty, and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector (transparency.org, 2018).

Transparency International (TI) asked the global governments to take the following actions to reduce corruption:

- 1- Encouraging free speech, independent media, political dissent and an open and engaged civil society.
- 2- Minimizing regulations on media, to ensure that journalists can work without fear of repression or violence
- 3- Promoting laws that focus on access to information to enhance transparency and accountability.
- 4- Governments must ensure access to information and the protection of fundamental freedoms and align these to international agreements and best practices.
- 5- Disclosing relevant public interest information in open data formats by Governments and businesses, which include government budgets, company ownership, public procurement and political party finances to enable journalists, civil society and affected communities to identify patterns of corrupt (transparency.org, 2017).

Over time, this index has proved to be a reliable estimate of corruption. For instance, according to *CPI* of 2016 and 2017, Over two-thirds of the countries and territories in these year's index fall below the midpoint of the scale of 0 - 100. The global average score is about 43%, which refers to an endemic corruption in the public sector (transparency.org, 2017).

The following table (Table: 1) shows the ranks of Arab countries according to Corruption Perception index from 2005 until 2011.

Table 1
Ranks of Arab countries before Arab Uprisings
(2005-2011)

COUNTRY CPI Score	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	AVG
Oman	6.3	5.4	4.7	5.5	5.5	5.3	4.8	5.3%
United Arab Emirate	6.2	6.2	5.7	5.9	6.5	6.3	6.8	5.3%
Qatar	5.9	6	6	6.5	7	7.7	7.2	6.6%
Jordan	5.7	5.3	4.7	5.1	5	4.7	4.5	5%
Tunisia	4.9	4.6	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.3	3.8	4.3%
Kuwait	4.7	4.8	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.5	4.6	4.47%
Egypt	3.4	3.3	2.9	2.8	2.8	3.1	2.9	3.02%
Saudi Arabia	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.5	4.3	4.7	4.4	3.8%
Syria	3.4	2.9	2.4	2.1	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6%
Morocco	3.2	3.2	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.35%
Lebanon	3.1	3.6	3	3	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.8%
Algeria	2.8	3.1	3	3.2	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9%
Yemen	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.3%
Libya	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.2	3.2	2.6%
Iraq	2.2	1.9	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.6%
Somalia	2.1	-	1.4	1	1.1	1.1	1	1.1%
Sudan	2.1	2	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.7%
Bahrain	5.8	5.7	5	5.4	5.1	4.9	5.1	5.2%
Mauritania	-	3.1	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.2%
Djibouti	-	-	2.9	3	2.8	3.2	3	2.9%
Palestine	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Comoro Island	-	-	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.4	2.3%

Source: Table prepared by the researchers according to *CPI* report of 2005 to 2011.

By analyzing the figures listed in Table 1, the following results can be reached:

- 1- There was a sharp drop in most Arab countries from 2005 to 2011, as 75 percent fell below 5% (15 out of 20 countries), which is considered a failing grade.
- 2- Seven Arab countries (Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Mauritania, Sudan, Yemen and Syria) are among the most ten corrupt countries in the world. These countries are also inflicted with political instability, war, internal conflicts and terrorism, stressing the fact that war and conflict fuel corruption and in particular political corruption (transparency.org, 2017).
- 3- Qatar is considered the least corrupt Arab country with an average of 6.6%, followed by Oman (5.3%), United Arab Emirate (5.3%), and Bahrain (5.2%). It can be noticed that all these countries from the Gulf States, which are characterized by high income, and the Arab Uprisings did not have a significant impact on them. It can be concluded, that there is a positive correlation between the level of income and the stability.
- 4- Somali is the most corrupt Arab country with an average (1.1%)

The following table (Table: 2) illustrates the ranks of Arab Uprisings countries (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Jordan, and Morocco) according to Corruption Perception index from 2012 until 2017. The figures explore the levels of corruption after the outbreak of the 2011 Arab Uprisings.

Table 2
Ranks of Arab countries after Arab Uprisings
(2012 - 2017)

	COUNTRY <i>CPI</i> Score	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	AVG
1	TUNISIA	4.1	4.1	4.00	3.8	4.1	4.2	4.05
2	EGYPT	3.2	3.2	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.2	3.2%
3	LIBYA	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.7	1.6%
4	Yemen	2.3	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.6	1.6%
5	SYRIA	2.6	1.7	2.0	1.8	1.3	1.4	1.4%
6	JORDAN	4.8	4.5	4.9	5.3	4.8	4.8	4.8%
7	Morocco	3.7	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.7	4.0	4%

Source: This Table prepared by the researchers according to *CPI* report of 2012 to 2017.

According to table (2) it can be concluded:

1. The 2011 Arab Uprising countries can be divided into three groups:
 - a- The first group that witnessed deep Uprisings, where the Presidents were overthrown. The corruption in these countries scored less than 3.2 % (Egypt Yemen and Libya), with the exception of Tunisia, which scored (4.05). All these countries are republicans.
 - b- The second group was witnessed major protests without overthrown the presidents (Jordan, Morocco).The corruption levels inside these countries scored with an average (4.8% and 4%).These countries are monarchy.
 - c- The third group is still facing a civil war. The levels of corruption scored less than (1.6%).The Arab countries that scored less than (1.6%) according to *CPI* are still suffering from civil wars like Libya, Yemen, and Syria.

Table number (3) illustrates the averages of corruption levels in the 2011 Arab Uprisings countries before Arab Uprisings and aftermath.

Table 3
The corruption averages in the 2011 Arab Uprising
Countries (comparison)

	COUNTRY CPI Score	2005-2011	2012-2017
1	TUNISIA	4.3%	4.05
2	EGYPT	3.02%	3.2%
3	LIBYA	2.6%	1.6%
4	Yemen	2.3%	1.6%
5	SYRIA	2.6%	1.4%
6	JORDAN	5%	4.8%
7	Morocco	3.35%	4%

Source: This table prepared by the researchers according to the above mentioned data.

According to table (3), it can be concluded, that there is no real improvement in anti-corruption efforts in these countries during or post-Arab spring periods, according to the following facts:

- A- Tunisia, Jordan, Morocco, and Egypt are among the most stable countries according to the anti-corruption averages that were relatively fixed. This reflects the credibility of Corruption Perception indexes in helping us to predict the future of stability in these countries.
- B- The situations in Yemen, Libya and Syria were deteriorated and developed into civil war. The anti-corruption levels notably decreased from (2.3%, 2.6 and 2.6%) to (1.6%, 1.6% and 1.4) after the outbreak of the 2011 Arab uprisings. One can conclude that there is a positive correlation between the increase of corruption and the outbreak of civil wars.

2. Arab countries according to *failed (fragile) States Index (FSI)**

This index is an annual ranking of 178 countries based on their levels of stability and the pressures they face. The scores are apportioned for every country based on twelve key political, social and economic indicators and over 100 sub-indicators that are the result of years of painstaking expert social science research (reliefweb.int, 2012). The following factors are used by Fund for Peace to ascertain the status of a country:

1. Cohesion indicators: Security Apparatus, factionalized elites, Group Grievance.
2. Economic indicators: Economic Decline, Uneven Economic Development, Human Flight and Brain Drain.
3. Political indicators: State Legitimacy, Public Services and Human Rights and Rule of Law.
4. Social indicators: Factionalized Elites and Group Grievance (fundforpeace.org, 2018).

The Failed States Index (*FSI*) was produced to highlight the normal pressures that all states experience, and to identify when those pressures are outweighing a states' capacity to manage those pressures (fundforpeace.org, 2018). According to (*FSI*) the rank order of the states is based on the total scores of the 12 indicators. For each indicator, the ratings are placed on a scale of 0 to 10, with (0) being the most stable and (10) being least stable. The total score is the sum of the 12 indicators and

* The failed States Index (*FSI*) produced by The Fund for Peace (FFP in 2005.) FFP collects thousands of reports and information from around the world, detailing the existing social, economic and political pressures faced by each of the 178 countries. See: <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/methodology/>

is on a scale of 0-120. From 2015 onwards, the countries were classified as the following:

- 1- Countries have scored between 90.0 and 120.0. These countries are classified in the red “Alert” category;
- 2- Countries have scored between 60.0 and 89.9 (classified in the yellow-orange “Warning” category)
- 3- Countries have classified in the green “Stable” category; the score between 30.0 and 59.9.
- 4- Countries have scored between 0.0 and 29.9. They are classified in the blue “Sustainable” category (fundforpeace.org, 2018).

According to (*FSI*) records, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) were among the best 18 nations, and 16 of the top 20 are Western European (reliefweb.int, 2012) .

Table (4) illustrates the scores of Arab countries according to *the Fragile States Index (FSI)* from 2005 until 2011, before the Arab Spring.

Table (4)
Arab countries according to *FSI*(2005-2011)

COUNTRY CPI Score	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	STD
Oman	*	43.8	45.5	47.4	47.2	48.7	49.3	120
United Arab Emirate	*	*	51.6	51.2	51.8	52.4	50.4	120
Qatar	*	*	53.6	52.7	51.9	51.8	49.05	120
Jordan	*	77	76.6	77.3	77.9	77	74.5	120
Tunisia	*	65.4	65.6	65.6	67.6	67.5	87.1	120
Kuwait	*	60.8	62.1	62	63.4	61.5	59.5	120
Egypt	*	89.5	89.2	88.7	89	87.6	86.8	120

Saudi Arabia	*	77.2	76.5	76.9	77.5	77.5	75.2	120
Syria	*	88.6	88.6	90.1	89.8	87.9	85.9	120
Morocco	*	76.5	76	75.8	77.1	77	76.3	120
Lebanon	*	80.5	92.4	95.7	77.9	90.9	87.7	120
Algeria	*	77.8	75.9	77.8	80.6	81.3	78	120
Yemen	*	96.6	93.2	95.4	98.1	100	100.3	120
Libya	*	68.5	69.3	70	69.4	69.1	68.7	120
Iraq	*	109	111.4	110.6	108.6	107.3	104.8	120
Somalia	*	105.9	111.1	114.2	114.7	114.3	113.4	120
Sudan	*	112.3	113.7	113	112.4	111.8	108.7	120
Bahrain	*	*	57	56.8	59	58.8	59	120
Mauritania	*	87.8	86.7	86.1	88.7	89.1	88	120
Djibouti	*	*	80.3	80	80.6	81.9	82.6	120
Palestine	*	79.4	79.6	83.6	64.6	84.6	84.4	120
Comoro Island	*	*	77.8	79.6	86.3	85.1	83.8	120

Source: This Table prepared by the researchers according to *Fragile States Index (FSI)*,

According to table (4), it can be concluded:

- 1- There are no Arab countries that have scored between 0.0 and 29.9, which are classified in the blue “Sustainable” category.
- 2- There are four Arab countries (Somalia, Sudan, Iraq and Yemen) that have scored between 90.0 and 120.0, according to Fragile States Index. These countries are classified in the red “Alert” category. According to *FSI*, among the ten most significant “worsening” in 2012, six were experienced by Arab countries –

Libya, Syria, Yemen, Tunisia, Egypt and Bahrain – as a result of the Arab Spring (reliefweb.int, 2012).

- 3- There are thirteen Arab countries (Libya, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Algeria, Djibouti, Palestine, Comoro, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Mauritania) that have scored between 60 and 89 according to Fragile States Index. These countries are classified in the yellow-orange “Warning” category.
- 4- There are five Arab countries (Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Kuwait) that have classified in the green “Stable” category; the score between 30.0 and 59.9. It can be noticed that all these countries from the Gulf States, which they were not affected by the Arab Uprisings.

Table (5) shows the ranks of Arab Spring countries according to the Fragile States Index (*FSI*) from 2012 until 2018, during Arab Uprisings and the aftermath.

Table (5)
Arab countries according to *FSI* (2012-2018)

	COUNTRY CPI Score	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	STD
1	TUNISIA	74.2	76.5	77.5	75.7	74.6	74.2	72.1	120
2	EGYPT	90.4	90.6	91	89.9	90.2	89.8	88.7	120
3	LIBYA	84.9	84.5	87.8	95.3	96.4	96.3	94.6	120
4	Yemen	104.8	107	105.4	108.2	111.5	110.1	112	120
5	SYRIA	94.5	97.4	101.6	107.8	110.8	110.6	111	120
6	JORDAN	74.8	75.7	76.7	76.9	78	78,7	76	120
7	Morocco	76.1	74.3	74.4	74.6	74.2	74.9	74	120

Source: This Table prepared by the researchers according to *Fragile States Index (FSI)*

According to table (5), it can be concluded:

- 1- There are three Arab uprising countries (Yemen, Syria and Libya) that have scored between 90.0 and 120.0, according to *Fragile States Index*. They were classified in the red “Alert” category. These countries are still suffering from civil wars and political conflicts.
- 2- Three Arab uprising countries (Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia) have scored between 60.0 and 89.9 (classified in the yellow-orange “Warning” category).

According to the comparison between table (4) and table (5), it can be noticed the following results:

- 1- Tunisia's rank was declined from (87.1) in 2011 to (74.2) in 2012. This means that the Arab Spring had a positive impact on Tunisia.
- 2- Egypt's rank increased from (86.8) 2011 to (90.4) in 2012. The Arab Spring had a negative impact on Egypt. It's peaked in 2014 at (91) score.
- 3- Libya's rank obviously increased from (68.7) 2011 to (84.9) in 2012. The Arab uprising had a strong negative impact on Libya. It's peaked in 2016 at (96.4) score.
- 4- With regard to Syria, its score increased from (85.9) in 2011 to (94.5) in 2012. The Arab uprising had a strong negative impact on Syria. It's peaked in 2018 at (111) score.

- 5- According to the figures of Jordan that included in tables (5) and (6) ,there is no real change .Its rank somewhat stable, as it was increased from (74.5) in 2011 to 74.8 in 2012.
- 6- Morocco's rank witnessed a little decline from (76.3) in 2011 to (76.1) in 2012. This means that the Arab Spring had a little positive impact on Morocco.

Conclusion

The following findings were revealed:

- 1- With regard to the main question, the study concluded that there is a strong correlation between the corruption levels and the forms of the 2011 Arab Uprisings, based on CPI, and FSI. The Uprisings were turned into civil wars inside the countries that have experienced high levels of corruption, like Yemen, Syria and Libya.
- 2- With regard to the first sub-question, the study revealed that the 2011 Arab Uprising countries can be divided into three groups:
 - A- The first group is still facing a civil war (Libya, Yemen, and Syria). The levels of corruption are very high and scored less than (1.6%).
 - B- The second group witnessed bloody Uprisings. All these countries are republicans, and their presidents were overthrown, such as, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen.

C- The third group witnessed major protests without overthrowing the presidents (Jordan, Morocco). These countries are monarchies.

- 3- With regard to the second sub-question, the study concluded that there were seven Arab countries from 2005 to 2011 among the list of the top ten most corrupt countries in the world (Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Mauritania, Sudan, Yemen, and Syria). The study also concluded that there are no Arab countries have classified as “Sustainable” state, and most of Arab countries (13 countries) have classified as Warning” category.
- 4- With regard to the third sub-question, the study concluded that there is no real improvement in anti-corruption efforts in these countries during or post-Arab spring periods. This reflects the credibility of Corruption Perception Indexes in helping us to predict the future of stability in these countries.
- 5- With regard to the fourth sub-question, the study confirmed that there is a credibility of "Corruption Perception Index" and "Fragile States Index" in predicting the future of stability in the countries. There is a positive correlation between the increase of corruption and the outbreak of civil wars, and there is a strong correlation between the levels of income and stability. The Gulf States were not affected by the Arab Spring, and its record.
- 6- Most Arab countries suffer from massive legitimacy deficits and many socio-economic and political problems. The massive corruption is in the political-economic sectors. The deterioration of socio-economic conditions observed in the Uprisings Arab

countries during the last decade was accompanied by an increase in authoritarianism and restricting basic freedoms.

7- The Arab Uprisings were fueled by citizens' frustrations with the endemic corruption that plagued their societies. The demonstrations started without political leaderships, religious motivation, or ideology. They were described as spontaneous because of many socio-economic and political problems.

8- Corruption is considered a complex social phenomenon and a result of interactions at all levels. It has great impacts on the economic and societal development, and it is closely related to the official activities of the state.

Last but not least, one can conclude that whenever the country is prone to corruption, the country will be heading towards uprising, taking into consideration that corruption is one of the main variables and not the only one that led to the uprising.

The forms of corruption vary among countries and societies. The worst form corruption is when it becomes systemized and takes control over the state. The Arab governments should take many steps to reduce corruption, by encouraging free speech, supporting independent media, strengthening political opposition, reinforcing an open and integrated civil society, and disclosing relevant public interest information in open data formats by Governments and businesses, that include government budgets, company ownership, public procurement and political party finances to enable media, civil society and affected communities to identify patterns of corruption and to present ways to reform it.

References

- Ackerman, S. (1997) Corruption: Causes, consequences and cures. Asia-Pacific Development Journal January 3(1):33-58
- Alissa, S. (2008). Arab States: Corruption and Reform. Accessed on: 7/3/2018(11:00): <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/21410>.
- Alsoudi, A. (2014). The Impact of Arab Spring on the Political Future of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East: Jordan as a Case Study. Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 4 (I), 1-20.
- Chalcraft, J. (2015). The Arab uprisings of 2011 in historical perspective. Amal and Hanssen, Jens, (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle-Eastern and North African History. Oxford University Press.
- Daan, B. (2014). *The Arab Spring: A parsimonious explanation of recent contentious politics*. "Master Thesis" Radboud University Nijmegen .The Netherlands
- DID. (2015). Why corruption matters: understanding causes effects and how to address them. Department for International Development Evidence. Accessed on 5/2/2019(8:45): https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/406346/corruption-evidence-paper-why-corruption-matters.pdf.
- Dimant, E. & Tosato, G. (2017). Causes and Effects of Corruption: What has Past Decade's Research Taught us? A Survey. Journal of Economic Surveys. MPRA No. (76445), 3-12
- Dong, D. (2011). The causes and consequences of corruption. PHD thesis Queensland University of technology. Faculty of Business: Brisbane-Australia
- Failed States Index (2012), Accessed on: 5/1/2018(8:00 AM):
- 2012 <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/cfsir1210-failedstatesindex2012-06p.pdf>
- Fundforpeace.org (2018). Accessed on: 6/1/2018(10:00): <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/methodology/>.
- Fundforpeace.org (2018). Accessed on: 5/3/2018(9:00): <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/indicators/>.
- Ghoneim, A. & Asmaa, M. (2016). Growth and corruption in Arab countries: What type of relationship connects them? .Journal of Economics and International Finance. 8(5) ,44-55.

- Jamal, A. & Robbins, M. (2015). Social Justice and the Arab Uprisings. Working Paper. Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs. American University of Beirut.
- Mnawar, A. (2015). Corruption and the “Arab spring”: As one of the main elements leading to revolutions. *Polish Journal of Political Science*, 1 (3), 36-49.
- Paciello. M. (2011). The Arab Spring: Socio-economic Challenges and Opportunities. *Istituto Affari Internazionali*. DOCUMENTI IAI 11(15E), 1-15.
- Rosiny.S. (2012). The Arab Spring: Triggers, Dynamics and Prospects. GIGA Focus International Edition.
- Tanzi.V (1998).Corruption Around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope, and Cures. *IMF Working paper*, 1-39
- Tammam, A. (2015). *Acritical analysis of the Arab Spring: Case studies of Tunisia and Egypt*. Master Thesis: Orta Doğu teknik Üniversitesi Kuzey Kıbrıs Kampüsü
- Touati, K. (2014). Determinants of Economic Corruption in the Arab Countries: Dangers and Remedies. *Journal of Economics Studies and Research*. Vol. (124996),1-15
- Transparency.org(2005).Accessed on: 6/4/2018(8:30):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2005
- Transparency.org. Accessed on 6/4/2018(8:30 Am):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2006
- Transparency.org. Accessed on 8/4/2018(9:00Am):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2007
- Transparency.org. Accessed on 9/4/2018(11:30AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2008
- Transparency.org. Accessed on 9/4/2018(13:00 BM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2009
- Transparency.org. Accessed on 17/4/2018(9:30 AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2010
- Transparency.org. Accessed on 5/5/2018(8:00 AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2011

- Transparency.org. Accessed on 5/5/2018(8:30 AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2012
- Transparency.org. Accessed on 6/5/2018(8:00 AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2013
- Transparency.org .Accessed on 6/6/2018(8:30 AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2014
- Transparency.org. Accessed on 7/6/2018(8:40 AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2015
- Transparency.org .Accessed on 7/6/2018(9:30 AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016
- Transparency.org: .Accessed on 7/7/2018(9:00 AM):
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017
- Transparency.org,(2018). .Accessed on 21/8/2018(13:30BM):
<https://www.transparency.org/what-is-corruption#define>